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HOW I BECAME A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

Eugene V. Debs
writes of his conversion in The Comrade.

As I have some doubt about the readers of the Comrade having any curiosity as to "how I became a Socialist," it may be in order to say that the subject is the editor's, not my own; and that what is here offered is at his bidding—my only concern being that he shall not have cause to wish that I had remained what I was instead of becoming a Socialist.

On the evening of February 27, 1875, the local lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was organized at Terre Haute, Ind., by Joshua A. Leach, then grand master, and I was admitted as a charter member and at once chosen secretary. "Old Josh Leach," as he was affectionately called, a typical locomotive fireman of his day, was the founder of the brotherhood, and I was instantly attracted by his rugged honesty, simple manner and homely speech. How well I remember feeling his large, rough hand on my shoulder, the kindly eye of an older brother searching my own as he gently said, "My boy, you're a little young, but I believe you're in earnest and will make your mark in the brotherhood." Of course I assured him that I would do my best. What he really thought at the time flattered my boyish vanity not a little when I heard of it. He was attending a meeting at St. Louis some months later and in the course of his remarks said: "I put a tow-headed boy in the brotherhood at Terre Haute not long ago, and some day he will be at the head of it."

Twenty-seven years, to a day, have played their pranks with "Old Josh" and the rest of us. When last we met, not long ago, and I pressed his good, right hand, I observed that he was crowned with the frost that never melts; and as I think of him now:

"Remembrance wakes with all her busy train,
Swells at my breast and turns the past to pain."

My first step was thus taken in organized labor and I felt that a new influence had entered my life to fire my ambition and change the whole current of my career. I was filled with enthusiasm and my blood fairly leaped in my veins. Day and night I worked for the brotherhood. To see its watchfires glow and observe the increase of its sturdy members were the sunshine and shower of my life. To attend the "meeting" was my supreme joy, and for ten years I was not once absent when the faithful assembled.

At the convention held in Buffalo in 1878 I was chosen associate editor of the magazine, and in 1880 I became grand secretary and treasurer. With all the fire of youth I entered upon the crusade which seemed to fairly glitter with possibilities. For eighteen hours at a stretch I was glued to my desk reeling off the answers to my many correspondents. Day and night were one. Sleep was time wasted, and often when, all oblivious of her presence in the still small hours, my mother's hand turned off the light, I went to bed under protest. Oh, what days! And what quenchless zeal and consuming vanity! All the firemen everywhere—and they were all the world—were straining:

"To catch the heat
Of my tramping feet."

My grip was always packed; and I was darting in all directions. To tramp through a railroad yard in the rain, snow or sleet half the night, or till day-break, or be ordered out of the roundhouse for being an "agitator," or put off a train, sometimes passenger, more often freight, while attempting to deadhead over the division, were all in the programme, and served to whet the appetite to conquer. One night in midwinter at Elmira, N. Y., a conductor on the Erie kindly dropped me off in a snowbank, and as I clambered to the top I ran into the arms of a policeman who heard my story and on the spot became my friend.

I rode on the engines over mountain and plain, slept in the cabooses and bunk, and was fed from their pails by the swartthy stokers who still nestle close to my heart, and will until it is cold and still.

Through all these years I was nourished at Mountain Proletaire. I drank deeply of its waters and every particle of it became saturated with the spirit of the working class. I had fired an engine and been stung by the expense and hardship of the rail. I was with them in their weary watches, at the broken engine's side, and often helped to bear their bruised and bleeding bodies back to wife and child again. How could I but feel the burden of their wrongs? How the seed of agitation fall to take deep root in my heart?

And so I was spurred on in the work of organizing, not the firemen merely, but the brakemen, switchmen, telegraphers, shovemen, track hands, all of them, in fact, and as I had now become known as an organizer, the calls came from all sides and there are but few trades I haven't helped to organize and less still in whose strikes I have not at some time had a hand.

In 1894 the American Railway Union was organized and a braver body of men never fought the battle of the working class.

Up to this time I had heard but little of Socialism, knew practically nothing about the movement, and what little I did know was not calculated to impress me in its favor. I had heard of the thorough and complete organization of the railroad men and ultimately the whole working class, and all day time and energy were given to that end. My supreme conviction was that if they were only organized in every branch of the service and all acted together in concert, they could redress their wrongs and regulate the conditions of their employment. The stockholders of the corporation acted as one, why not the men? It was such a plain proposition—simply to follow the example set before their eyes by their masters—surely they could not fail to do so. I had yet to learn the workings of the capitalist system, the resources of its masters and the weakness of its slaves. Indeed, no shadow of a "syatem" fell athwart my pathway; no thought of ending wage slavery marred my plans. I was too deeply absorbed in perfecting wage servitude and making it "a thing of beauty and a joy forever."

It all seems very strange to me now, taking a backward look, that my vision was so focussed on a single object, that I was so utterly lost to see what now appears to me as the most obvious and so clear that I marvel that any workman, however dull, uncomprehending, can resist it.

But perhaps it was better so. I was to be baptized in Socialism in the roar of conflict and I think the gods for reserving to this fitful occasion the fiat "Let there be light"—the light that streams in steady radiance upon the broadway to the Socialist republic.

The skirmish lines of the A. R. U. were well advanced. A series of small battles were fought and won, but the loss of a number of concessions were made, and the corporations rather than risk an encounter. Then came the fight on the Great Northern, short, sharp, and decisive. The victory was complete—the only railroad strike of magnitude ever won by an organization in America.

Next followed the final shock—the Pullman strike—and the American Railway Union again won, clear and complete. The combined corporations were paralyzed and helpless. At this juncture a blow that blinded me for an instant and then opened wide my eyes—and in the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle the class struggle was revealed. This was my first practical lesson in Socialism, though wholly unaware that it was called by that name.

An army of detectives, thugs and murderers were equipped with badge and beer and bludgeon and turned loose; old hulks of cars were fired; the alarm bells tolled; the people were terrified; and over all the wires the news that Chicago's white throat was in the red clutch of a mob; injunctions flew thick and fast, arrests followed, and our office and headquarters, the heart of the strike, was sacked, torn out and nailed up by the "lawful" authorities of the federal government; and when in company with my loyal comrades I found myself in Cook county jail at Chicago with the whole press screaming conspiracy, treason and murder, and by some fateful coincidence I was given the cell occupied just previous to his execution by the assassin of Mayor Carter Harrison, Sr., overlooking the spot where the Anarchists were hanged a few years before, why then I had another exceedingly practical and impressive lesson in Socialism.

Acting upon the advice of friends we sought to employ John Harlan, son of the supreme justice, to assist in our defense—a defense memorable to me chiefly because of the skill and fidelity of our lawyers, among whom were the brilliant Clarence Darrow and the venerable Judge Lyman Trumbull, author of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution, abolishing slavery in the United States.

Mr. Harlan wanted to think of the matter over night; and the next morning gravely informed us that he could not afford to be identified with the case. "For," said he, "you will be tried upon the same theory as were the Anarchists, with probably the same results." That day, I remember, the jailer, by way of consolation, I suppose, showed us the blood-stained rope used at the last execution and all who helped me out of darkness into light.

But the tempest gradually subsided and with it the bloodthirstiness of the press and "public sentiment." We were not sentenced to the gallows, nor even to the penitentiary—though put on trial for conspiracy—for reasons that will make another story.

The Chicago jail sentences were followed by six months at Woodstock, and it was here that Socialism gradually laid hold of me in its own irresistible fashion. Books and pamphlets and letters from Socialists came by every mail and I began to read and think and dissect the anatomy of the system in which workingmen, however organized, could be shattered and battered and splintered at a single stroke. The writings of Bellamy and Blatchford early appealed to me. The "Co-operative Commonwealth" of Gronlund also impressed me, but the writings of Kautsky were so clear and conclusive that I readily grasped, not merely his argument, but also caught the spirit of his Socialist utterance—and I thank him and all who helped me out of darkness into light.

It was at this time, when the first glimmerings of Socialism were beginning to penetrate, that Victor L. Berger—and I have loved him ever since—came to Woodstock, as if a providential instrument, and delivered the first impassioned message of Socialism I had ever heard—the very first to set the wires humming in my system. As a souvenir of that visit there is in my library a volume of "Capital," by Karl Marx, inscribed with the compliments of Victor L. Berger, which I cherish as a token of priceless value.

The American Railway Union was clubbed but not conquered—overwhelmed but not vanquished. It lives and pulsates in the Socialist movement of America, and its defeat but blazed the true way to economic freedom and hastened the sunrise of human brotherhood.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

"I. O. Thilmany of Kaukauna, who will not again employ men who quit work last night."

This is the caption over a picture of a Wisconsin captain of industry which the Milwaukee Sentinel printed last Sunday. Through the workings of the present economic system this man is in position to hold over workmen on strike the ominous threat of "no more work."

The present system gives this fiend in human garb a terrible advantage over men so docile that they submit without question to the capitalist fleeing system as a rule, and only finally rebel when conditions are utterly odious to them. "For daring to rebel," says this modern monster, in effect, "you will get no more work to do. Now go, and starve, and welcome."

And the worst of it is that there may come a time when this sentence will be potent, for concentration is stalking through the land, and ownership of businesses is becoming the province of fewer and fewer men. The time may not be far distant when a man with a little shriveled up Thilmany soul may be in control of all business in some certain division of industry. His sentence on workmen incurring his displeasure will be as despotic and fiendish as that of absolute monarchs in the far East, who for trifling inconveniences or vexations hand over their subjects to the ax-man, or the superintendent of the boiling oil department to be given a "lingering but humorous" death!

A week ago a majority of 104,748 Chicago men, out of a total vote of 204,379, voted for the public ownership of the lighting companies.

It was decidedly a step in advance, and there will be those to claim that it was a great victory for what is known as Direct Legislation. We do not take this view.

The opportunity was afforded the people of the Western metropolis to say whether they would prefer city ownership to private ownership of the lighting service. It is an opportunity that comes none too often to people who are menaced by the aggressions of wealth in the form of municipal monopolies—corporations more rapacious than the robber barons of feudal days, and who secure and maintain their monopoly by bribery and intimidation. It is an encouraging sign that in spite of the corrupting atmosphere of a modern business metropolis like Chicago, the people grasped the opportunity and putting aside their little petty dishonest tendencies, rolled up such a decisive and tremendous majority for progress and sane government. It presages the day when the people will vote squarely on the subject of collective ownership of the factories. And it was by a referendum that they did it.

But it was not a victory for Direct Legislation.

Direct Legislation is a plan, whereby, with the help of both the Initiative and Referendum, the people may make their own laws without the intervention of common councils, legislatures and congresses. It is argued that the plan would prevent the continuance of the monster corruption in legislation which so disgraces our present form of civilization, and shows us our capitalists of industry in their true light, that of immoral and vicious brigands every fiber of whose being is seeped with the virus of civil pollution. We wish this hope were a valid one.

The referendum is only sensible when it is used with common sense. Under present conditions it would be a failure if the people undertook to make all their laws by direct means. This is not the fault of the principle of the referendum but because of the system under which we live today and which we are ruled by. So long as society consists of myriads of conflicting private interests, just so long myriads of laws will be passed. It would be impossible for people to vote knowingly on all these measures, they would not have the time or the information to study up each case, and thus many a foxy, dangerous proposal would be enacted into law without their realizing it.

The activity of the legislative corruptionist would merely shift his base of operations.

Instead of corrupting and misleading legislators, the paid lobby of the rich would direct its efforts at misleading and confusing the voters themselves, principally through the press. Even today the great wealth interests are getting possession of the city dailies, and this gives them increasing power in persuading and fooling the people into voting

in opposition to their true interests. They also, from being the financial props of the churches, control the eloquence of a good many of the more subservient high-salaried preachers. They have the best lawyers retained and under orders. A Madden stands ready to shut off papers that tell the truth about capitalism when the occasion is serious enough to warrant risking such high-handedness. A capitalist president who is vicious enough to forbid government employees from seeking to better their wages and hours through legislation, would be despot enough to issue equally un-American mandates to help perpetuate the control of the wealth interests were it necessary.

So that men who say that all the ills of capitalist society would vanish once we established government by referendum talk thoughtlessly.

And yet the referendum is a most valuable thing. We Socialists expect to use it a good deal even before we get the co-operative commonwealth. We do not wish to use it for little things but for important emergencies, when the public attention is focused on a vital development and the people can move on the enemy's intrenchments with precision. When the co-operative commonwealth is at hand, the referendum will be used as a matter of course.

At present the thing called direct legislation is being boomed by a number of faddish reformers whose minds are so constructed that they cannot grasp the industrial and social problem in the large. But the novelty of their proposal has worn off and they are not able to distract attention from the main fight, as they formerly were.

The best feature of the event in Chicago is that it waked a good many people up. They will be more watchful hereafter and the things they will see if they keep their eyes open, and do their own thinking, will logically land most of them in the camp of the Social Democrats.

Watch your congressmen. See how their class interests—not to speak of their willingness to be "bought"—will rouse them to vote on the nefarious subsidy bill now pending. The bill proposes to give men who maintain American ships on the ocean a bonus and John D. Rockefeller, that prince of commercial bandits, who steals better things than red-hot slaves as a mere pastime, stands to win some half millions of out and out "rivel" by it. The Standard Oil Company maintains a large fleet of tank steamers that carry American oil to Europe, and on each one of these a subsidy could be drawn from the United States treasury if the bill becomes law. No one appears to know just how many of them there are in existence, but travelers say they pass them with great frequency on the voyage to and from Europe. They average from 2000 to 3000 tons and carry only oil. Rockefeller is for the law, all right. It means from \$500,000 to \$1,500,000 a year of out and out steal for him.

And you, Mr. Workingman, whose vote makes such capitalistic "legislation" possible, you who are this moment stewing your brains out over how you are going to reduce that grocery bill or meat bill or clothing bill, or meet the bank rent—why what about you? Do any subsidies come to you? Isn't it about time to drop that old habit of voting for all this looting of the national coffers?

Before election the Allis Company had it printed in all the papers that it had granted its operatives a half day on Saturday for the year round. That was before election. Now it appears a number of the men have petitioned the company to take the privilege away again. This is after election. We do not say the Allis people are petitioning themselves through these workmen, we have no proof that it is so. The best thing the workers can do is to have Saturday half holidays decreed by legislative enactment so that big firms cannot juggle with the thing for electioneering purposes.

In the recent Milwaukee election the anxiety of the old party politicians to know who were Socialists among the "silent voters" was very strong. In one booth on election day the inspectors put up a game on the Social-Democratic voters that worked pretty well for awhile. They provided themselves with a blue pencil, and when a man came in who was suspected of being a Socialist he was given the blue pencil to mark his ballot with, otherwise a black pencil was handed out.

Few people when they ate their eggs on Easter Sunday realized that they were paying tribute to Armour and Swift and other big meat packers. They were, however, and had been for weeks past. The fact is, the present high price of eggs bears no relation to the amount of the "hen fruit" actually in existence.

A month or so ago Armour and Swift saw a chance to corner the egg market. The eggs on the market were largely "cold storage" eggs. The big packers had large refrigerating plants handy and it was no trick at all to buy up practically all the eggs in sight and lock them up where they would keep cool while the people grew hot. They got hold of enough to make an egg famine and the price of eggs was gradually forced up to 35 cents a dozen. They then began to slowly unload and the stake is said to have been well worth playing for. Ever today the price of eggs has not gotten down to the normal.

The day is not far away when men who succeed in gambling in food stuffs will be strung up to the telegraph poles. The Socialists, when they get hold of enough of the political power to do it, will take a genuine pleasure in providing such a law. And at the same time they may repeal some laws that today send a hungry wretch to a house of correction for stealing a loaf of bread, or a coat for his back. Cardinal Manning has said that rather than starve a man has the right to steal.

ATTEMPTS AT OLD AGE PENSIONS IN EUROPE.

In the leading countries of Europe the question of old age insurance for workingmen has of late been the subject of lively debate in labor circles, and has already led to various legislative measures, without indeed producing final results which workingmen can pronounce entirely satisfactory.

Germany adopted a law in the year 1889 for the regulation of old age insurance for workingmen. The results of this law, while it has produced some good, are insignificant compared with the aim which it pretended to reach. When we in America contend for such a law, of course we have in view no imitation of the German law, but rather measures which will actually accomplish what they promise—a provision for workingmen in old age.

The German law guarantees to every workingman whose trade comes under its provisions, a right to an old age pension as soon as he has completed his seventieth year. The government, the employers and the workingmen unite to raise this fund. The government contributes 50 marks (\$12.50) a year for every pension that falls due. Employer and workingmen contribute in equal shares 14, 20, 24 or 30 pfennigs (3½, 5, 6 or 7½ cents) weekly, according to the four classes into which wage workers are divided. The lowest pension is 106.40 marks (\$26.35) a year, the highest 101 marks (\$47.75).

The inadequacy of the German old age insurance lies in the high limit of age which is demanded and in the small amount of the pension. How many workingmen reach their seventieth year? Or if they attain it, what can they do with a bare income of 30 pfennigs a day?

But apart from this, what is especially interesting to Americans in this German law is the manner of defraying the expense. We see that the government, the employer and the workingman each contribute a share to the total cost.

Austria in this respect follows the example which Germany has set. After the Social Democrats and the labor unions had started up a vigorous agitation for an old age pension law, the ministry worked out a plan which provides a pension from the beginning of the workingman's sixty-fifth year. Here also the expense is defrayed by the employer and workman in equal shares, while the government, as in Germany, grants an additional allowance.

A bill which also provides for workingmen's old age insurance is now before the French Chamber. According to this bill also the government, employers and workmen will share the cost of the insurance.

Of especial interest for us in the United States is the question which plays a part in the deliberations of the parliamentary commission on the French bill. In the original bill of Millerand, the minister of commerce, all foreign workmen in France were excluded from the benefits of the law. However, after it was submitted to the commission, the provisions of the bill were so altered that the law applied also to foreign workmen of long residence in the country. Employers are thus required to pay a contribution of 4 per cent. of the wages of foreign workmen employed by them and settled and registered in France. Two per cent. of this shall be registered in the wage book of the workman and shall become his property immediately, just as the French workman also receives at once the right to own and dispose of a part of his payments. The other 2 per cent. payment of the employer for the foreign workman must be laid away and paid him after ten years, together with his own payments and the interest.

While the Austrian and French laws follow the German example in regard to the manner of defraying the cost, it appears that in England the working class is not satisfied with this way of raising the necessary funds.

At a conference of delegates of labor unions and societies held in London in the middle of January to consider the question of old age insurance, the opinion was almost unanimous that the government alone should defray the costs of the insurance. The following resolution was adopted: "The conference considers it a pressing necessity that the government introduce a national system of old age pensions. It should be universal in its application; all citizens, male and female, without exception, on attaining their sixtieth years should be entitled to a pension of at least 5 shillings (\$1.25) a week; the government to defray the cost by means of an imperial tax."

The advantages of such a system over the German law are evident. In the first place the workmen are not required to contribute to the expense. Besides the old age insurance begins not at the workingman's seventieth but at his sixtieth year, and finally the pension is not 2 marks (50 cents) a week, as in Germany, but 5 marks (\$1.25) a week.

Little enough indeed, but nevertheless better than nothing. And at any rate it is a step in the right direction.

The supreme court of Wisconsin recently decided that the law taxing inheritances was unconstitutional. The question was raised by members of the tax-dodging rich class. The decision was only to be expected.

The ground for the decision was that the law provided that a legacy below a certain sum in total value escaped the tax, while if it was a penny over the limit the tax was operative. The suit to test the constitutionality of the law was brought by the heirs of the late John Black, a wealthy Milwaukee liquor dealer, while a large number of other estates watched the developments with breathless and greedy anxiety. And they are now rejoicing at the decision which held that the law discriminated unjustly as between estates of more than \$10,000 and those of merely a dollar under that sum.

We should like to apply the court's logic in another direction—a direction in which humanity instead of dollars is at stake.

There is a law in this state that a child under 14 years may not go to work in a mill or factory pen, while a child over 14 may. The courts hold that it is wrong for an estate valued at \$9999 to escape the inheritance tax, while one valued at \$10,000—merely one dollar more—must pay. The law rushes in to protect "dead" wealth. Why should it not come to the rescue of the living girl factory slave? Why should the supreme court not say: The law exempts the child who is a day under 14 years from the brutality of the soul-crushing factory prison, while the child that is one day older is free to be forced by conditions into factory servitude. This is an unjust and inequitable discrimination, therefore it is unconstitutional!

But we need not worry. The supreme court and the laws exist for another purpose. They are not there to protect the weak and defenseless. It is their "job" to protect the strong.

On the day after election a man at the Flier & Stowell foundry had his ankle crushed and his leg had to be amputated. On the day following another poor fellow stumbled and fell forward on a mass of molten metal and burned out both his eyes. If he lives he will have to go through the world sightless. He can work no longer, but there are plenty ready to take his place.

John D. Rockefeller is said to be losing his hair.

The papers round the country are

printing columns about this "great calamity" that has befallen the oil magnate. Did you see anything in the papers about the misfortune of these two workers in the Flier & Stowell works? These beasts of burden, these mere factory hands, what does the world care about their misfortunes? There are charity hospitals, charity almshouses and charity graveyards for them. They have no kick coming, these "common cattle," these sovereign American citizens so beloved by the capitalist politicians before election! But let John D. Rockefeller lose a few of his hairs, or let Hanna run a silver in his finger, and the papers work up great public interest in the matter. But a common workman in a factory, who cares anything about his life?

We make the prediction that the newly elected board of aldermen in Milwaukee will make a record for corrupt dealings scarcely paralleled by any of those which have preceded it in the history of the city, in spite of the fact that some very rotten men failed of re-election. There is no other view possible. The personnel of some of the men elected, their records, manners of life, and the influences that conspired to place them in power, are indications not to be misunderstood. A looting of the city treasury under various disguises is inevitable and the indications are that the railroads will be strongly represented among the beneficiaries. They took a very active part in getting certain aldermen elected, which is prima facie evidence of intended corruption. It is generally understood that the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul road got a favorable council by its activity during the election. There will be quite a little railroad legislation this coming year.

In Milwaukee grand juries are chosen by the bodies whose corruption is to be "investigated." Hence the grand jury never discovers any crookedness. They seem to do it a little differently in St. Louis and the disclosures are sensational in the extreme. For the few disclosures, however, the percentage of those who escape is mountainous on mountains high.

A Milwaukee shoe worker who was on his way East looking for a job, the Sentinel tells us, was killed by a train on which he was stealing a ride. And it may be he was one of those short-sighted fellows who refused to listen to some of our speakers during the campaign just closed!

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It will be less beer and more socialism
that will make Milwaukee famous in the
future.

Milwaukee Social Democrats have
done well and hope to do still better in
the future.

The last battle in Milwaukee was vir-
tually a battle of literature. Let the
good fight go on.

And let us make a point of trying to
create a good working organization of
the Social Democratic party in every
county, city and township of the state of
Wisconsin.

No man could become wealthy above
others if he merely gave as much as he
received in business. The richest men
are those who have been smart enough
to give very little to society and get very
much.

The writer of these lines is a modest
man, but he agrees that if society will
give him as large an income as Andrew
Carnegie gets, he will be even more
liberal than Andy. This is a cold business
proposition. As a returner of stolen
goods Andy is better than a good many,
though.

Statisticians have figured that in the
United States the rich are taxed 4 per
cent, and the workers 78 per cent, upon
their possible earnings. No matter how
you investigate you find that the brunt
of everything falls upon those least able
to stand it—and then think of the tax-
dodging by the rich!

It used to take two days to make a
pair of shoes and about two days' wages
to buy a pair. Now the shoes cost nearly
as much and they can be made by ma-
chinery in half an hour. From this it is
plain enough that it is only the capital-
istic ownership of the machinery that
stands between the people—the real pro-
ducers—and the possession of the product
of their industry.

Even now, when people are better in-
formed than they used to be, because
they used to believe the daily newspa-
pers, the remark is occasionally made
that the Socialists are the enemies of the
government. And yet the Socialists are
the very ones who want to trust the
government to operate and own indus-
tries so that the workers cannot be
fleece by profit-hungry capital.

Why is it that if it is only the people
who live in monarchies that are op-
pressed, we hear every day of people
starving to death in our own free land?
The death of one person by starvation
ought to be a greater cause for concern
on the part of our people than the serious
illness of the President's son, who has
never suffered the pangs of hunger, but
most of our people are not built that way.

There is one thing that the workers in
the factory pens, mining bells and other
places of toil should bear in mind at all
times. It is wise and necessary to be
organized into unions, but the influence
of the unions will be only limited to
small things unless a workers' party is
back of them to make them a force that
cannot be whipped. Our comrades in
Germany, France and Belgium learned
this long ago and their growing solidarity
is the cause of many sleepless nights for
the oppressing class.

There is air enough for every single
person on the globe, and it is free. There
is water enough for every single person
on the globe, and it is free. There is
land enough for every living soul and to
spare, but private ownership has pos-
session, and it is not free. There is food
enough for all, clothing enough for all,
shelter enough for all, but private own-
ership has it in its grasp, and the very
class that produces it all only gets a
beggarly part of it, but Hanna says this
is a fine system. He has no kick com-
ing.

It has been figured out that it costs,
all told, \$4000 for every beathen converted
by the missionary societies in the be-
nighted land of the pagan. If our peo-
ple care about the savage negro or the
Arab or the Mohammedan to the tune
of \$4000 in each individual case, their
indifference as to the well-being of the
work slaves of this country is simply
criminal. Think what even \$1000 would
mean to an average workman whose
long hours and dreary work scarcely
keep his family above want.

We feel thankful of course for the in-
applied compliment, when someone says
that Socialism might do for a race of
angels but that man is too bad by na-

ture to stand it. They do not say it to
be complimentary, either, as a rule, but
simply to make some kind of an oppo-
sition. But the angel argument is alto-
gether foolish. Under Socialism the in-
centive to wrongdoing would be largely
gone. People do wrong because they
have a motive. If that motive disap-
pears they naturally alter their conduct.
Most all villainies are committed from
the motive of personal gain. When peo-
ple are hungry they steal bread. When
they are thirsty they do not steal water.
Why? Simply because there is enough
for all and there is no incentive, there-
fore, to steal.

By injunctions issued by Judges Gross-
cup of Chicago and Phillips of Kansas
City, fourteen Western roads were re-
cently restrained from further ignoring
certain provisions of the interstate com-
merce law. The Journal of Commerce
makes this editorial comment:

"When the railway companies, eight
years ago, obtained from the courts in-
junctions to prevent their employees from
striking, or from performing actions in
aid of their strikes, the novelty of the
procedure attracted universal attention.
The courts very generally granted the in-
junctions, though many of the lawyers
have deprecated this method of proce-
dure. The labor organizations were nat-
urally very indignant at a process by
which a striker could be taken summarily
before a judge and, without trial
by jury, be sent to prison for six months
for contempt of court, and all the while
indicted, released on bail and tried at his
convenience before a jury for the act
complained of. Court after court, how-
ever, has sanctioned the injunction pro-
cess, and the labor troubles of last sum-
mer were particularly productive of in-
junctions against strikes and all the
methods employed to make strikes ef-
fective, and one judge went so far as
to enjoin strikers against any method of
trying to persuade others to strike, even
by private conversation and the distribu-
tion of literature.

The interstate commerce commission
has turned the tables on the railway
companies by getting them enjoined from
violating the interstate commerce act,
the ordinary method of prosecuting them
for violations having led to very meager
results."

The following from the New York
Press, whether meant as satire or ear-
nest, is interesting reading:

The persons who rant and rail against
watered stock are those who hold none of
it. As I take it, watering a stock is an
excellent device for playing the market
and dispersing the communistic cloud
of the community. We million-
aires must keep down the eviles and
jealousies of our populace. When we es-
tablish a corporation with \$10,000,000
capital and earn annually 30 per cent, in
dividends we incite this populace to dis-
content and socialism. So we increase
our capital to \$20,000,000—all water—
and earn 15 per cent. The populace, the
middle-of-the-roads, the blind-teat
democracy, are satisfied, not realizing
that our income is the same.

We always supposed that charity be-
gan at home, but Mark Hanna in play-
ing his star engagement with the Civic
Federation strike-preventing aggregation,
seems to take care that his operations
shall be carried on well away from his
own fleeing territory, as witness the
following from a Cleveland paper:

The boiler-makers and their helpers
also continue on strike in a number of
shops, including the one in which the
Hannas are interested. The bosses' com-
bine refuses even to meet committees
to discuss terms of a settlement, and
the fight is narrowing down to a struggle
of endurance.

The dip retort the cocky capitalist
apologizer used to make that the Social-
ists, if he didn't like this country, had
better leave it is brought to mind by the
following from the Chicago News:

"J. Pierpont Morgan has what might
be termed a chuck. Anyone who does
not like Mr. Morgan's country can leave
it only in one of Mr. Morgan's boats.

Dispatches from Rome, Italy, state
that in the registration of electors every
workman qualified as opposed to the
monarchy—as belonging to a party in op-
position! If this is generally the senti-
ment, it does not look bright for the
mobility. All over Europe the same
condition is appearing.

What the Socialist movement needs in
some other places is more real propa-
ganda by good literature and less "ora-
tory" from the certain "great man"—in
their own estimation.

Illinois' Stand on Dues Question.

The executive committee of the Social-
ist party of Illinois, at a meeting held
March 4, unanimously adopted the fol-
lowing resolutions relating to payment
of dues to the national committee:

"Whereas, there has been a demand
made upon the state committee of Illi-
nois to pay dues prior to the organiza-
tion of the Socialist party of Illinois,
and

"Whereas, the state committee of Illi-
nois stands ready to meet all obligations
which it is bound to pay since its or-
ganization, and whereas the clause of
the national constitution regarding the
payment of dues is as follows:

"Section 6. The state committee
shall pay to the national committee
every month a sum equal to 5 cents for
every member in good standing within
their respective territories."

"Therefore, be it resolved that the
state committee of Illinois declares itself
not liable to the national committee for
any dues for former members arising
prior to the issuance of the charter to
the state on October 4, 1901, and re-
quests the further correspondence in
regard thereto be discontinued. And
the state committee of Illinois calls at-
tention to the fact that it is not liable
for dues to the national organization ex-
cept when such dues are paid by the
members of the party to the state com-
mittee."

We desire moreover to call the atten-
tion of the national quorum and sec-
retary to the following clause of the na-
tional constitution:

"Section 4. In states and territories
in which there is one central organiza-
tion affiliated with the party and rep-
resenting at least ten local organizations in
different parts of each state or territory,
respectively, the state or territorial or-
ganization shall have the sole jurisdic-
tion of the members residing within their
respective territories, and the sole con-
trol of all matters pertaining to the
propaganda, organization and financial
affairs of such state or territory, and
the national committee and subcom-
mittee or officers thereof shall have no right
to interfere in such matters without the
consent of the respective state or ter-
ritorial organizations."

"It has come to the notice of the state
committee of Illinois that the national
secretary claiming authority from the

national quorum has written numerous
letters to the members of the Illinois reg-
istering both financial and propaganda mat-
ters.

"Such actions are not only in conflict
with the national constitution, but are
producing confusion and discontent
among the branches in the state.
We therefore express our disapproval
of the conduct of the national secretary,
and demand and insist that such prac-
tices be discontinued. And since the
national committee has no right to inter-
fere in such matters without the consent
of the state organization, we desire to
place ourselves on record as refusing our
consent to such interference."

War, Horrid War!

What, speaking in quite unofficial lan-
guage, is the net purport and upshot of
war? To my own knowledge, for exam-
ple, the war between the British and
city of Dumdudge, usually some 500
souls. From these, by certain "natural
enemies" of the French, there are suc-
cessively selected, during the French
war, say thirty able-bodied men; Dum-
dudge, at her own expense, has sneaked
and these sixty men are sent without
difficulty, and sorrow, fed them up to
manhood, and even trained them up to
crafts, so that one can weave, another
build, another hammer, and the weakest
can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois.
Nevertheless, amid much weeping and
sorrow, the men are selected, all dressed
in red and shipped away, and the public
charges, some 2000 miles, or say only
to the south of Spain, and fed there till
wanted. And now to that same spot in
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SOCIALISTIC GLEANINGS.

From Foreign Climes.

The figures of the election at Breslau, where the Social Democrats succeeded in sending Edward Bernstein to the German Reichstag, are now at hand. The Social Democrats polled 14,700, the Liberals 6428, the Conservatives-Clerical fusion 4474, and the Anti-Semites 3253. Bernstein's overwhelming majority shows that the "Bernsteinism" that gives some American class-conscious Socialists the frights, does not worry the comrades in the original home of Social Democracy. There are now fifty-eight Social Democrats in the parliament of the Kaiser's land. The anti-Semite majority Reichstag are Socialists and Bernstein will at once take front rank.

If Socialism is the name of a new Socialist journal, published at Rome, and which will appear twice a month. It is edited by our comrade, Prof. Enrico Ferri. The first issue contains articles from many prominent Socialists in Europe, including one by H. Quierh. Many other leaders in the movement have promised to contribute to its pages and meanwhile wish it success.

The situation in Finland is becoming worse every day. The most serious measure is that the government is going to apply to the Grand Duchy the same military law as to the rest of Russia. Formerly, the inhabitants only did two years' military service, and this they did in their own country; now they will have to do five years' military service, and this in any part of the empire, say at Odessa, Kiev or Moscow. The result will be that Finland, which till now was a peaceful and loyal country, will become a land of rebels, but meanwhile, there will be much misery and war. And yet we are told of the humanity of the Great White Czar—the little Father, etc.

Berlin, April 2.—The Socialists gained an unexpected victory at the election in the district of Ebbig-Mariewerder today. In place of the conservative, Von Puttkamer-Plauth, who retired from parliamentary life, the Socialists Koenig was elected a member of the Reichstag. The conservative candidate, Von Oldenburg-Jaunach, a member of the Prussian diet, was defeated for the reason that he is an extreme agnarian.

At the Socialist Congress at Tours the question of Millerand was settled by the unanimous adoption of the following resolution: "The congress, in fulfillment of the resolution voted by the International Socialist Congress of Paris as to the participation of one or more Socialists in a bourgeois government, decides that from the opening of the next Legislature no Socialist shall be allowed to be a member of a ministry until a congress of the party shall have decided otherwise. A long statement of views, constituting a party manifesto, was drawn up and adopted. This manifesto describes Socialism as necessitated by the discovery of the working classes that the declaration of the rights of man is illusory without a social transformation of property. The only remedy for the present economic disorder is transformation to the social community of the means of production. The proletariat so well understands this that it has accepted the discipline of an organized class bent on revolutionizing the modern social system by constant pressure upon the privileged members of society. How the attainment of this goal does not pretend to say, but it does not repudiate the eventual employment of force. Socialism is essentially Republican, and is the champion of a scientific conception of the world in opposition to dogmas and churches. Socialism is pacific and international; it condemns every policy of Continental or colonial aggression, and prepares by the organization of national militia for the simultaneous disarmament of nations.

In Austria the Socialists are bending every effort toward organizing trade unions, despite the attempts of the government and the capitalists to throw obstacles in their way and to tyrannize and oppress the workers.

General elections take place in France on April 27. Socialists are making a hard fight to increase representation.

The trade unionists and Socialists of the Wakefield district, England, held a big mass meeting and decided to contest the vacant Parliamentary seat in that district. They have started with the \$2000 necessary to cover election costs.

Nearer Home.

The San Francisco Tagblatt, a Socialist daily of long standing, has suspended. Its weekly edition will be maintained as formerly.

Flint (Mich.) Center of the University Extension League has chosen "Socialism" as the subject of the next course of lectures, which will be delivered by Prof. I. W. Howarth of Chicago University. In consideration of the election of this subject, the Central Labor Union of Flint has agreed to purchase a hundred tickets for the course. In a parting talk to the center, Prof. E. E. Sparks, who delivered this season's course in Flint, said in referring to the subject of next winter: "Time was when Socialists were associated in the popular mind with long hair, bombs and other anarchistic tendencies; but it is beginning to be understood that the Socialist of today stands for the betterment of mankind."

Comrade August Klenke, formerly an organizer in Illinois, is now state organizer for the party in Pennsylvania. He has been doing good work in Pittsburgh.

At Redlands, Cal. members of the Good Government party approached members of the Socialist party with a proposition to swap votes, offering as good as two and three for the Socialist ticket for one vote for Mr. Foote.

Judge Groesbeck, former chief justice of the supreme court of Wyoming, is reported to have joined the Socialist party.

Comrades Carey and MacCarney, the two Socialist members of the Massachusetts Legislature, have a good deal to attend to outside their official duties. They are constantly called upon to address meetings in various parts of Massachusetts and the neighboring states.

The Polish comrades in Philadelphia have been holding a series of meetings in different parts of the city with good results. Good speakers, in Polish and English, addressed attentive audiences.

Comrade Benjamin Hanford will be the May day speaker at Boston.

By the recent party election in New Hampshire, Comrade Cole of Dover was superseded as treasurer by Comrade A. K. Chase of Nashua, but the complaint is made that the new treasurer is unable to get possession of the state funds. The chairman of the state committee charges that the trouble is due to factional feeling and a desire to control the movement.

Branch 22, Milwaukee, will hold an agitation meeting at Twenty-third and Brown streets, Friday evening, April 18. German and English speakers.

Comrade Howard Tuttle spoke on the lessons of the campaign in Milwaukee before the Liberal Club Sunday evening. "Our hope is in the younger generation," he said, "and we believe that when young men see that they have not the

What the collectivists are doing throughout the world.

same chance in this world in starting out in life as their fathers had, that they will recognize that the time has come for a change."

Competition and Co-Operation.

In the sixth of his course of lectures at Plymouth Church, Milwaukee, Prof. Howarth of the University of Chicago, said last Saturday night:

"The man of today is both biologically and socially a product of evolution. His social nature as well as his physical form has been developed from his experience with men and things. In the process of development, the struggle for existence has played a leading part. Prior to the development of sympathy, the weakest were destroyed and the fittest to the conditions of the environment survived. The peculiar fitness of the man of today is transmitted in accordance with the law of heredity. Thus with the tendency of all organic beings to vary in form or function, the struggle for existence and the principle of heredity, nature developed man until reason and sympathy began to play a part."

"Now the struggle for existence is usually identified with competition. The struggle against nature, however, should not be included in competition, for competition has reference to the struggle that is carried on between man and man. On the lower planes of competition, as in the struggle among primitive men, as in the struggle among modern industry, this struggle is accompanied by great waste and destruction. This is due, however, to the manner in which competition is carried on rather than to competition itself. Competition may be divided into a rivalry in social service, and a rivalry in competition in its objectionable form, and yet we are told of the humanity of the Great White Czar—the little Father, etc."

"Co-operation implies working together for a common end. It is not inconsistent with competition. It demands only a change in the purpose and the means of competition. The social nature of man has been developed through the necessities of group life. The strictly competitive type is not adapted to compliance with the social restraints necessary to the existence of society. Every step in the advancement of society means the modification of the competitive type of man in the direction of the co-operative type. The society whose members are best adapted to co-operation in promoting its welfare is the society which in conflict with others is most likely to survive."

"There is a natural law then working towards the development of the co-operative spirit. Society, however, may consciously hasten the rapidity of the development of this spirit through modifications of the conditions under which the present competitive struggle in industry is carried on, and especially through the conscious effort of the schools to eliminate anti-social tendencies."

How the Battles Went.

About the result of the election in Sheboygan, Wis., says the Volksblatt: "We have gained votes—we have only 700 votes less than the two parties have together!! The poll at the election shows:

Social Democrats 1403 Votes.
Republicans 1111 Votes.
Total 2514 Votes.
The Republicans and Democrats have carried some wards by uniting against the common foe of capitalist exploitation—the only true workingmen's party. They are now in the hands of the Social Democrats, 4 Socialists.
"The Socialists have gained considerably in the Eighth ward, in the First, Second, Third and Seventh; besides having succeeded in driving the two parties together; verily they have cause to rejoice."

West Superior, Wis.—The Social Democrats had a great up in the Ninth ward, Comrade John J. Kerwin received 96 votes for alderman. A year ago this ward gave Comrade Penny 42.

Local elections in Rockford, Ill., give Socialists an average of 500 votes for city officials. The vote of Rockford in the presidential elections was 73.

At Galesburg, Ill., the Socialist vote was as follows: For assessor, Lawrence, 212. For supervisor, Sjodin, 236. Aldermanic candidates polled a total of 232. Total Socialist vote of Knox county in 1900 was 142 for Debs and Harriman.

School election in Mystic, Ia., resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Socialist party, the candidates of which received twelve and one-half more votes than the Republicans and Democrats, who combined as a "Citizens' party."

Kiel, Wis.—The capitalist party fared to beat us, but we gave them an awful close run. The total vote was 252. For village president, J. B. Laun, fusion, 129; H. J. Amman, Social Democrat, 123. For clerk, Joseph Amman received 81; for treasurer, Edmund Hanks, 84; for assessor, Henry Goetz, 88; for assessor, John Voss, 83; for constable, Fred Duerwacher, 80. Our trustee candidates ran correspondingly well. The vote was increased.

Crookston, Minn.—This spring we had no legal standing as a party in the city, not having put up a ticket in the last city election, so we had to secure signatures. We gave very near securing our own, however. The capitalist parties got well secured toward the last. John Klewiel, for mayor, got 341, as against 483 for Hitchcock, Rep. O. C. Mortenson, for alderman, polled 213, to 234 for his capitalist opponent. We polled 112 for Debs in 1900.

CHAS. LUCIEN.

A Victory in Florida.

Victory was won by the Socialist party at St. Petersburg, Fla. In its first campaign it has made a clean sweep, electing mayor and all other candidates.

To the Herald—Congratulations to Milwaukee comrades upon their fine increase.

To the Social Democratic Herald—The Kiel comrades congratulate the Milwaukee comrades for their splendid efforts.

Chicago, April 2.—Papers here give you 7000 votes. Good enough. Hurrah for Milwaukee! Three cheers and a tiffin. No report this morning on our vote. Will surely not reach yours. Two-thirds majority cast for municipal ownership. Shows that Socialism is in the air.

Des Moines, Ia.—At our city election March 31 there were two other tickets, the Citizens and the Republican. The Citizens was blank except as to mayor and auditor. For mayor I received 200 votes. George F. Tary for auditor received 253 votes. The remainder of the candidates ranged up as high as 578.

The fight on the head of the ticket accounts for the smallness of the vote for mayor. The 200 are the dyed-in-the-wool Socialists. The rest are "coming." The gain on the vote for mayor, is about 75 per cent.; on the other offices, several hundred per cent. JOHN M. WORK.

Township Pacific, Wis.—We made a gain of three votes, and only lacked six of electing Comrade Floy, for the head of the ticket. Comrade Danham for assessor was beaten by but seven votes.

H. J. DUNHAM.

Elected an Alderman.

Mystic, Ia.—For mayor, Luse, Rep., 170; W. Gallagher, Social Dem., 163; Simpson, Dem., 23. For treasurer, Richardsou, Rep., 167; W. Porter, Social Dem., 159; Knox, Dem., 31. For assessor, Carter, Rep., 169; G. H. Fryhoff, Social Dem., 147; Silk, Dem., 40. Comrade George Porter, Social Democrat, was elected one of the three aldermen. Our vote showed a gain of 63.

THOS. W. BOWERS.

The aldermanic vote in Chicago was remarkably light. According to Daily News statistics, only 205,112 all told. Of these, 95,984 were Republicans, 87,754 Democratic, 9370 Independent, 6060 Socialist (perhaps includes both the Socialist party and Social Labor party, both of which had tickets in the field), 3361 Prohibition, and 3768 Single Tax.

Oregon Convention.

The Oregon Social Democrats held their mass state convention at Portland March 19. A chalkline was drawn across the rear of the hall and those of the spectators who were willing to take a pledge claiming sympathy with the class struggle were permitted to occupy seats within the line. The platform adopted contained a Chinese and Japanese exclusion plank. Comrade H. H. Ryan of Salem was nominated for governor; Comrade C. W. Barzoe of Dalles for secretary of state; Comrade W. W. Myers of Clackamas county for treasurer; and Comrade C. C. Rutherford of Harney county for supreme judge. Comrade D. T. Gerdes of Astoria was nominated for Congress.

A state charter has been issued to Minnesota.

The following donations to the propaganda fund are reported from the national headquarters:

Amount reported to March 29th.....	\$200.00
Eighteenth and Twentieth Assemblies.....	5.00
New York, N. Y. branch.....	1.00
Newport, Ky. branch.....	1.00
Twentieth Assembly District, Ill. branch.....	1.15
Ira, N. Y. branch.....	1.00
Twentieth Assembly District, N. Y. branch.....	2.00
Total received to April 5th.....	\$277.05

Branch Meetings.

FIRST WARD BRANCH MEETS EVERY second and fourth Monday in each month at 826 North Water street. Chris West phal, Secretary.

SECOND WARD BRANCH meets every third Friday of the month, corner Fourth and Chestnut streets. Jacob Hunger, secretary.

THIRD WARD BRANCH MEETS ON the second Thursday evening of the month at 614 State street.

FIFTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday of the month at southeast corner Reed street and National avenue.

EIGHTH WARD BRANCH (formerly 45) holds free lectures at the hall, corner Fourth avenue and Mineral street, every second and fourth Thursdays at 8 p. m.

NINTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Tuesday of the month at John Heyman's, 453 Eleventh street. Henry Bruha, 2021 Galea street, secretary.

TENTH WARD BRANCH meets on the first and third Friday of the month at Bahn Frei Turner, 22nd and North avenue. Ed. Grundmann, Sec., 1720 Lloyd street.

ELEVENTH WARD BRANCH (formerly No. 9) meets at Charles Miller's hall, corner Orchard street and Ninth avenue, every fourth Friday in the month.

TWELFTH WARD BRANCH—Meets first and third Thursday at 807 Kinakickian avenue. Geo. Lennon, secretary, 204 Astia street.

THIRTEENTH WARD BRANCH MEETS every second and fourth Wednesday of the month at 524 Clarke street. Mantis Olson, 1019 Fourth street, secretary.

FIFTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Tuesday in August at 826 North Water street. Dr. C. H. Bachmann, secretary, 948 Winnebago street.

NINETEENTH WARD BRANCH MEETS every second and fourth Wednesday in the month in Meixner's Hall, corner Twenty-seventh and Villet streets. Louis Pater, secretary, 538 Twenty-ninth street.

TWENTY-SECOND WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday of the month in Folkman's hall, corner Twenty-first and Center streets.

TWENTY-FIRST WARD BRANCH (formerly No. 22) meets at Gauthke's hall, Green Bay avenue, near Concordia, every second and fourth Tuesdays in the month.

TWENTY-SECOND WARD BRANCH (No. 4) meets every first and third Friday of each month at Mueller's hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 891 Twenty-fifth street.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Leon Greenbaum, Room 427, Emilie Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD—State Secretary, E. H. Thomas, 614 State street Milwaukee, Wis.

THE CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every first and third Monday evening of the month at Kaiser's hall, 226 Fourth street. Eugene H. Rooney, secretary; John Doerder, treasurer, 701 Winnebago street.

AGENTS FOR THE HERALD.

I. Goldstein, 227 Clinton street, New York. Fruit stand.

H. H. Hager, 73 Graham avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

E. Vandervoort, 148 South Peoria street, Chicago.

James Lambert, Socialist Temple, 126 S. Western avenue, Chicago, Ill.

L. Joster, 42 Gouverneur street, New York, takes subscriptions for this paper.

The National Platform.

The Socialist party of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, the object of which is to acquire the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the workers, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the working men to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

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